

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE FLASH

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EXDIS TOSEC 73

E.O.11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EAID

SUBJECT: SISCO'S STATEMENT BEFORE HFAC

WHITE HOUSE PLEASE PASS USDEL SALZBURG

FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM SISCO

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MY STATEMENT BEFORE THE HOUSE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE JUNE 12 AT 10:00 A.M. THE
COMMITTEE HAS ASKED ME TO TESTIFY ON OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
PROGRAMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF
YOU COULD GET THIS TO THE SECRETARY SO HE COULD HAVE A LOOK
AT IT.

2. BEGIN TEXT: AS YOU KNOW, THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IS ONE
THAT HAS OCCUPIED MY ATTENTION FOR MANY YEARS. THROUGHOUT
THE PERIOD OF MY INVOLVEMENT THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA HAVE
BEEN LOCKED IN INCESSANT STRUGGLE--A CYCLE OF WARS FOLLOWED
BY UNEASY CEASEFIRES, FOLLOWED AGAIN BY BLOODSHED AND
TRAGEDY. THUS, TWO PEOPLES WHO LIVED AND WORKED TOGETHER
PEACEFULLY FOR CENTURIES WERE THROWN TOGETHER IN WHAT HISTORY

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WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RECORD NOT AS A SERIES OF WARS, BUT AS ONE
LONG WAR BROKEN BY OCCASIONAL ARMISTICES AND TEMPORARY CEASE-
FIRES.

3. THE AREA'S PROGRESSION FROM CONFLICT TO CONFLICT

HAS BEEN WRITTEN IN DEATH AND SUFFERING FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION. BUT THE EFFECTS OF THE MID-EAST STRUGGLE TRANSCENDED THE LOCAL ISSUES. WHEN CHRONIC TENSION ERUPTED INTO WAR, WORLD PEACE WAS THREATENED. THE INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF TWO GLOBAL POWERS MEET IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS AN AREA OF VITAL INTEREST TO THE UNITED STATES. A STABLE AND LASTING PEACE IN THE WORLD REQUIRES A STABLE AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

4. NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY MEMORY, IT IS POSSIBLE TO HOPE, IF NOT SEE, A TIME WHEN THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR WILL BE PUNCTUATED NOT BY AN ARMISTICE BUT BY A SECURE AND LASTING PEACE. IRONICALLY, THE PROGRESS MADE HAS ITS ORIGIN IN THE FERMENT RESULTING FROM YET ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAELI WAR--THE WAR OF OCTOBER 1973 WHICH CHANGED THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS IN THE AREA AND THE PERCEPTION EACH SIDE HAS OF THE OTHER.

5. IF I MAY, THEREFORE, I WOULD LIKE TO TRACE FOR YOU BRIEFLY THE SITUATION WE FACED BEFORE THAT WAR; THE RESULTS WE SOUGHT WHEN THAT WAR BEGAN; AND WHAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE MONTHS THAT FOLLOWED. I DO THIS SO THAT YOU CAN HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WE MEAN WHEN WE REFER TO A MOMENTUM FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

6. THE PAST: FOR MANY YEARS THIS WAS THE PANORAMA THAT PRESENTED ITSELF TO US IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

-- THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS SHARED ONLY A DISTRESSING LEGACY OF MUTUAL DISTRUST AND SUSPICION. THE ISRAELIS, AS A RESULT OF THEIR EXPERIENCE, HAVE STRESSED SECURITY AND SURVIVAL THE PRIMARY ISSUES. THE ARABS, AS A RESULT OF THEIR EXPERIENCE, HAVE UNDERScoreD JUSTICE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AS THE PRIMARY ISSUES. NATIONS WHO SHARED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BORDERS HAD ALMOST NO REAL UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHERS PROBLEMS, MOTIVATIONS AND CONCERNS.

-- THE AREA WAS DOMINATED BY A TREND TOWARDS POLARIZATION BETWEEN ISRAEL STRONGLY TIED TO THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN ARAB STATES INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT UPON THE SOVIET UNION.

-- IT WAS CLEAR THAT A FINAL SETTLEMENT IN THE MID-EAST COULD ONLY COME ABOUT PRIMARILY BY THE ACTIONS OF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. BUT THE PARTICIPANTS WERE TOO DEEPLY DIVIDED TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF COMPROMISE AND NO THIRD

PARTY WAS IN A POSITION TO BRING THEM TOGETHER, ALTHOUGH

THE U.S. MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION MADE MAJOR EFFORTS TO DO SO BETWEEN 1969 AND 1973.

7. THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH: WHEN WAR CAME AGAIN TO THE MIDDLE EAST, WE HAD TWO IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES. FIRST, TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND SECOND, TO DO SO IN A MANNER THAT WOULD LEAVE US IN A POSITION TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE WITH BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS IN SHAPING A MORE SECURE PEACE. IT WAS EVIDENT THAT THE SEARCH FOR THAT PEACE WOULD BE ARDUOUS AND THAT A LASTING SETTLEMENT COULD ONLY BE APPROACHED THROUGH A SERIES OF DISCREET STEPS IN WHICH THE SETTLEMENT OF ANY PARTICULAR ISSUE WOULD NOT BE DEPENDENT ON THE SETTLEMENT OF ALL ISSUES.

8. WHAT HAVE WE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE PAST EIGHT MONTHS?

-- FOR THE MOST PART GUNS ARE SILENT. DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND SYRIA HAVE BEEN COMPLETED.

-- WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE U.S. CAN MAINTAIN ITS UNDIMINISHED SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL AND SECURITY AND HAVE RELATIONS OF TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING WITH ARAB NATIONS. WE HAVE REOPENED CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH SYRIA AND REESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EGYPT. WE HAVE DEEPEINED OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA. WE HAVE HELPED BOTH THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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MOVE TOWARDS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

-- THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSION IS NOW ON PROGRESS ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS TOWARDS PEACE. COUNTRIES IN THE AREA ARE NO LONGER DEPENDENT ON A SINGLE OUTSIDE POWER. MOST HAVE ADOPTED A MORE MODERATE COURSE. INSTEAD OF CONCENTRATING SOLELY ON PREPARATION FOR WAR, THEY ARE READY TO CONSIDER, HOWEVER TENTATIVELY, THE POSSIBLE FRUITS OF PEACE.

9. WE DID NONE OF THESE THINGS ALONE. PROGRESS TO DATE HAS BEEN POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH THE COURAGE, VISION, WISDOM, AND STATESMANSHIP OF KEY LEADERS IN THE AREA.

10. BUT IT IS APPARENT THAT NONE OF THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

12. IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR TO ME THAT A WILL TO ACHIEVE PEACE HAS EMERGED AND IS GATHERING STRENGTH IN THE AREA, CHALLENGING THOSE FORCES STILL OPPOSED TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

BASED ON MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION. THE CHALLENGE TO ALL

PARTIES CONCERNED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST IS TO BUILD A
BRIDGE BETWEEN CURRENT REALITIES AND A FUTURE VISION--A
VISION OF PEACE.

13. BUILDING A PEACE: IF THERE IS TO BE SUCH A TRANSITION,
THE UNITED STATES ONCE AGAIN WILL HAVE TO PLAY A CRITICAL
ROLE. THE STEPS AHEAD ARE CLEAR:

-- THERE MUST BE FURTHER STAGES IN THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS.
IT WILL BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT AS WE APPROACH THE MORE
FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. IT IS
IMPORTANT IN THE FIRST INSTANCE THAT THE DISENGAGEMENT
PROCESS ON THE SYRIAN/ISRAELI FRONT CONTINUE TO PROCEED
SMOOTHLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT. EACH DAY OF
EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION, HOPEFULLY WILL HELP BUILD THE
KIND OF CONFIDENCE WHICH WILL AT LEAST BEGIN TO BREAK SOME
SHACKLES OF PAST SUSPICIONS.

-- THERE IS CONTINUING NEED TO MAINTAIN ISRAEL'S SECURITY.
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FOR ISRAEL TO PERSEVERE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT MUST
POSSESS THE CONFIDENCE OF OUR SUPPORT FOR ITS SECURITY.

-- THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO MAKE A START ON RECONSTRUC-
TION AND DEVELOPMENT. LEADERS HAVE MADE THE BOLD DECISION
TO MOVE TOWARDS MODERATION IN THE BELIEF THAT THEIR
ASPIRATIONS FOR A LIFE FREE OF TRAGEDY WITH SECURITY,
JUSTICE, AND DECENCY FOR THEIR PEOPLES CAN BEST BE REALIZED
IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

14. THE AGENDA IS A FULL ONE. WE HAVE COME A GOOD
DISTANCE TOWARDS OUR OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST--A COMPREHENSIVE AND LASTING PEACE AS A FRAMEWORK
FOR DURABLE U.S. RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALL THE NATIONS OF THE
AREA. THE OBSTACLES ARE FORMIDABLE. YET IT MUST BE
STRESSED THAT THESE ARE ONLY FIRST STEPS. WE STILL HAVE
A VERY LONG WAY TO GO.

15. CONGRESS IS NOW CONSIDERING A MAJOR PROGRAM WHICH CAN
CONTRIBUTE TO OUR OVERALL OBJECTIVES. WE DO NOT PRETEND
THAT THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM YOU ARE CONSIDERING CAN BUY
PEACE. NOR CAN WE PURCHASE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS IN THE
AREA. PEACE AND GOOD RELATIONS ARE NOT FOR SALE--IN THE
MIDDLE EAST OR ANYWHERE ELSE.

16. RATHER, THE PROGRAM IS AN ESSENTIAL ADJUNCT TO OUR
BROADER DIPLOMACY. NECESSARY TO THE SUCCESS OF THAT
DIPLOMACY, THOUGH NOT SUFFICIENT TO BRING SUCCESS.

17. AS YOU CONSIDER THE PROGRAM, I ASK YOU TO BEAR IN MIND THAT THE SUMS INVOLVED ARE NOT LARGE WHEN COMPARED TO WHAT THIS NATION HAS SPENT OVER THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE AREA--TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN WHICH PEACE REMAINED AN ELUSIVE GOAL.

18. THE PROGRAM THAT HAS BEEN PLACED BEFORE YOU WILL:

-- CONTRIBUTE TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY;

-- HELP SUSTAIN THE GROWING BELIEF IN THE AREA THAT PEACE IS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR MODERNIZATION--AN ASPIRATION
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SHARED BY ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA;

--REINFORCE OUR DIPLOMACY AS WE MOVE TOWARDS THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECTS OF MID-EAST NEGOTIATIONS.

19. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS ALREADY OUTLINED FOR YOU THIS PROGRAM. AT THE RISK OF REPEATING WHAT YOU ALREADY KNOW, LET ME PLACE IN THE RECORD A MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTION.

-- \$350 MILLION IN GRANTS AND CREDITS WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ISRAEL. \$300 MILLION OF THIS TOTAL WOULD BE USED TO ASSIST ISRAEL TO PURCHASE THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT IT NEEDS TO STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

-- \$50 MILLION IN ECONOMIC SUPPORT WOULD BE UTILIZED TO RELIEVE IT OF SOME OF THE ECONOMIC BURDEN WHICH HAS ARISEN NOTABLY FROM ITS HEAVY DEFENSE EXPENDITURES.

-- \$207 MILLION IN GRANTS AND CREDITS WOULD BE EXTENDED TO JORDAN. \$100 MILLION OF THIS TOTAL WOULD BE GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE, \$30 MILLION WOULD BE AS CREDIT FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT PURCHASES, AND \$77.5 MILLION WOULD BE GRANT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THESE FUNDS ARE DESIGNED TO ENHANCE ITS SECURITY AND TO ASSIST ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. JORDAN HAS LONG AND CONSISTENTLY BEEN A FORCE FOR MODERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS ASSISTANCE WOULD CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO ITS ABILITY TO MAINTAIN THAT POSITION.

-- \$250 MILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WOULD BE FURNISHED TO EGYPT. OF THIS SUM, \$20 MILLION IS INTENDED TO FINANCE OUR PART IN HELPING EGYPT REOPEN THE SUEZ CANAL; \$80 MILLION WOULD BE USED TO PURCHASE BADLY NEEDED COMMODITIES IN THE U.S.; \$150 MILLION WOULD BE EARMARKED FOR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SUEZ CANAL AREA. THUS, THE MAJOR PART OF OUR PROPOSED ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT WOULD BE DESTINED TO A

PART OF THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS BEEN DEVASTATED BY WAR AND
WHOSE RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION WILL BE SEEN, NOT
ONLY BY US BUT BY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA, AS
CONVINCING EVIDENCE OF THE SINCERITY OF EGYPT'S INTEREST IN
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PEACE. OUR PROGRAM SHOULD HELP GENERATE AN INTERNATIONAL
EFFORT, HOPEFULLY LED BY THE WORLD BANK, TO REVITALIZE THE
SUEZ AREA.

-- LASTLY, \$100 MILLION WOULD BE AVAILABLE IN THE FORM OF
A SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FUND. IN GENERAL TERMS, WE LOOK
UPON THIS FUND AS A MEANS OF HAVING A FLEXIBLE RESOURCE
AVAILABLE TO USE AS AND WHEN NEEDED. HAVING ACCESS TO SUCH
FUNDS WOULD PERMIT US TO RESPOND SWIFTLY IN WAYS CALCULATED
TO REINFORCE OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. FOR EXAMPLE, IF OUR
RELATIONSHIP WITH SYRIA CONTINUES TO DEVELOP AND SYRIA
MAKES CONCRETE REQUESTS, SOME OF THE MONEY WOULD BE USED
IN THAT COUNTRY. WE WILL CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE CONGRESS
ON THE USE OF THIS SPECIAL FUND.

20. CONCLUSION: A MOMENTUM FOR MID-EAST PEACE HAS BEEN
ESTABLISHED. IN OUR VIEW, THIS PROGRAM IS ESSENTIAL TO
THE MAINTENANCE OF THAT MOMENTUM. OPPORTUNITIES SUCH AS
THE ONE BEFORE THIS NATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST DO NOT COME
OFTEN. THEY ARE NOT EASILY HOARDED. IN FACT ON THE BASIS
OF MY EXPERIENCE IN THIS VOLATILE REGION, I WOULD SAY THAT
OPPORTUNITIES FOR CREATIVE DIPLOMACY ARE ESPECIALLY
PERISHABLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

21. THUS, IT IS OUR HOPE THAT CONGRESS CAN ACT
EXPEDITIOUSLY ON OUR REQUEST. WE NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT
CONGRESS SUPPORTS THE INITIATIVES THAT WE HAVE TAKEN. WE
NEED TO ENCOURAGE THOSE WHO ARE SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN
WORKING FOR PEACE. AND WE NEED TO DO THESE THINGS IN A
TIMELY MANNER.

22. THIS PROGRAM BESPEAKS OUR UNREMITTING CONCERN FOR THE
SECURITY OF ISRAEL. IT POINTS THE WAY TOWARD A NEW AND
MUTUALLY REWARDING RELATIONSHIP OF FRIENDSHIP WITH EGYPT
AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES. WE TRUST THESE ARE OBJECTIVES
THE CONGRESS SUPPORTS, AS IT HAS SUPPORTED OUR SEARCH
FOR A MIDDLE EAST THAT CONTRIBUTES TO A STABLE WORLD ORDER.

23. THE PROMISE OF A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT IS
CLOSER TODAY THAN IN THE PAST--A PAST MADE UP OF LOST
OPPORTUNITIES. IT HAS TAKEN GREAT AND SUSTAINED EFFORT BY
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MANY TO COME SO FAR. STILL GREATER COURAGE AND EFFORT
WILL BE REQUIRED TO REACH A SECURE AND DURABLE PEACE. IT
IS IN OUR INTEREST THAT THERE BE SUCH A PEACE. WE MUST

DO WHAT WE CAN TO SEE THAT THAT GOAL DOES NOT ELUDE US
AND THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA ONCE AGAIN. END TEXT. BROWN

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